

SUCI's Appeal to the People

Proletarian Era

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ON ASSAM QUESTION

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's letter to left parties

Calcutta, 13th May '80:

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party SUCI has issued the following letter to the nine left parties viz (i) CPI (ii) CPI (M), (iii) F.B. (iv) R. S. P. (v) Workers & Peasants League (vi) R. C. P. I. (vii) Workers' Party (viii) Communist Workers' Party and (ix) C. P. I (M L):

Dear Comrade,

The continuously deteriorating situation in Assam being further aggravated by the threat of unilateral deportation of the non-Assamese as 'foreign nationals' by the leader of the parochial forces cannot but cause serious concern and deep indignation particularly among the left and demo-

cratic forces of the country.

We strongly feel that, let alone the utter failure of the Congress and Janata Governments both at the Centre and in the State in the past, the manner in which the present Indira Government is bungling with the whole issue is mainly responsible for this

(Contd. to page 4)

Some vital questions confront the people in nine states where assembly elections are going to be held shortly. These cannot be bypassed or deferred as these are central to the basic question of solution of the countless problems plaguing the people's life. The parliamentary parties and the entire bourgeois propaganda machinery are beating the drum calling upon the people to exercise their 'democratic options' as electors at the coming elections. But what is the truth beneath this clamour?

It should be remembered in the first place that the ruling bourgeoisie, plunged into an all out crisis and instability in the political system, does no longer consider it safe to depend on the popular verdict at the polls to sustain its class rule. It has been seen in the recent elections that the ruling class, besides projecting before the people with the money bag and the propaganda media one or more of its chosen class alternatives, has laid its hands on the election process through systematic administrative rigging in order to get its own choice through as the 'people's choice'. Our party has exposed how the last mid-term Lok Sabha elections, too, were subject to the same process of tampering.

There are already enough indications about how 'free and fair' the coming assembly elections in nine states are going to be. Electoral rolls, for example, have not been made available even after expiry of the last date for submission of nomination papers, thus denying, for all practical purposes, the opportunity to scrutinize the rolls. This is particularly significant, because the electoral rolls were found to have been extensively manipulated at the last Lok Sabha elections.

Moreover, the large number of poor people in the drought hit districts of Bihar, M. P., U. P. and Rajasthan, who have had to leave their villages in search of jobs elsewhere, now stand virtually deprived of their right to exercise franchise. The January Lok Sabha elections bore ample testimony to how the party in power, or those having

tie with the administration, forcibly captured booths trampling on the rights of the poor and the socially backward people. It is easy to guess how the same parties will take advantage of the large number of absentee voters this time in the drought hit areas. Apprehending the possibility of rigging and emphasizing the urgency to first render adequate relief to the drought hit people and rehabilitate them, our party appealed to the Election Commission to ensure, first of all, the conditions of a free and fair election and for that to defer the elections for the present. But it has fallen on deaf ears.

Not only that. Acting in an arbitrary and unprincipled manner, the Election Commission has allotted, this time, the 'cycle' symbol with which our party has been fighting elections since 1969 and has won seats in two states, to none other than Mr. Raj Narayan's band of defectors.

It has also to be remembered in this connection that Indira Gandhi's government at the centre dismissed the non-Congress(I) governments of these nine states and dissolved the assemblies ordering fresh elections acting in the most undemocratic, unprincipled and high-handed manner only to pave the way for the return of the Congress (I) ministries with the object of spreading her party's grip over the whole country. Thus, these assembly elections, like the last Lok Sabha election, have been thrust upon the people from a bourgeois class design. The crisis-ridden ruling bourgeoisie, in its

bid to stabilize and perpetuate its class rule, is using the elections and handling the election machinery to foist upon the people its own class choice and pass the same as the people's choice.

But does the bourgeois class interest concur with the people's interest? What is the cause of all the numerous problems afflicting the people in all spheres of life? What is the cause of the crisis all around? The root cause is the crisis-ridden, moribund capitalism. The staggering unemployment, the crushing burden of taxes, the spiralling prices, the steep decline in cultural standards—all stem from this root. Discontent is mounting again and again among the people against this capitalist exploitation and oppression. To contain the mass discontent in the blind alley of parliamentarism, the ruling bourgeoisie is trying to evolve a two-party parliamentary system in the

(Contd. to page 2)

List of SUCI Candidates

State & District	Assembly Constituency	Candidate
Tamilnadu		
Ramanathapuram	Srivilliputhur	Comrade R. Suriyanarayanan
Madurai	Madurai Central	Comrade S. Narayanaswamy
Madhya Pradesh		
Sagar	Sagar	Comrade Hemchandra Ranganath Limaye
Uttar Pradesh		
Jaunpur	Khutahan	Comrade Dinesh Kant Dubey
Jaunpur	Garwara	Comrade Sitaram Yadav
Pratapgarh	Patti	Comrade Jagannath Verma
Bihar		
Saran	Marhaura	Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey
Mujaffarpur	Kanti	Comrade Nalini Ranjan Singh
Mujaffarpur	Sahebganj	Comrade Sitasharan Prosad Singh
Patna	Phulwari (SC)	Comrade Dashrath Ram
Monghyr	Kharagpur	Comrade Shukdev Yadav
Dhanbad	Chandankiyari	Comrade Mahindi Rajowar
Dhanbad	Bokaro	Comrade T. K. Dey
Singhbhum	Ghatsila (ST)	Comrade Sitaram Tudu
Singhbhum	Patka (ST)	Comrade Madhab Chandra Sardar
Santwal Pargana	Shikari Para (ST)	Comrade Shakti Prosad Hansola
Orissa		
Sundargarh	Rourkela	Comrade Sk. Quasim
Sundargarh	Raghunathpali (ST)	Comrade T. Kullu
Bolangir	Birmaharajpur	Comrade Sanat Kumar Panigrahi
Puri	Pipli	Comrade Raghunath Das
Cuttack	Sukinda	Comrade Mayadhar Nayak
Cuttack	Jajpur (SC)	Comrade Arjun Das
Cuttack	Binjharpur (SC)	Comrade Upendra Mallik
Balasore	Bhandaripokhari(SC)	Comrade Harikrusha Jena

SUCI's Appeal

(Contd. from Page 1)
country. More and more the class is taking recourse to fascist measures to suppress the legitimate democratic mass movement against the capitalist exploitation and oppression. When crisis is shaking the political system, throwing the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties into disarray, the ruling class is pushing the people to elections to divert their attention from the crisis and is placing the entire burden of the costly elections on the people.

The bourgeois design is, therefore, in total contradiction with the people's interest. Should the people set foot into the bourgeois trap? They should realize, as our party is pointing out again and again, that the basic problems in their life cannot be solved by mere change of government through elections. They can win emancipation only by anti-capitalist socialist revolution, and to that end they must advance along the path of democratic mass movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. They will have to build their own instrument of struggle, their own alternative political power against the bourgeois political power. That alone can frustrate the bourgeois design. The elections will have to be viewed as a part of the political struggle on clear-cut class politics. That will be the people's answer to the bourgeois trickery of thrusting elections on them as the bourgeois solution.

The parliamentary parties have appeared on the election scene holding out tall promises to alleviate the people's miseries. This is in keeping with their character. But one or another of these parties, alone or in combination, had been in government in these nine states in the past: What is their record? Each followed pro-capitalist, anti-people policies. While the monopolist's

profits went up by leaps and bounds, the people slumped more and more into misery. In every sphere it is the people who have to pay the price. While all these parties when in government in one or another of these nine states, have suppressed the democratic mass movement, they are fostering communalism, casteism, parochialism and all the divisive trends to disrupt the people's unity and fulfil their petty party interest.

The Congress (I) led by Indira Gandhi assumed power at the centre following the last Lok Sabha elections pledging to restore 'stability' and alleviate the people's miseries. In the five months of her rule the prices of essential commodities have shot up even further. Hoarders and blackmarketeers are creating artificial scarcity to reap enormous profit. To hoodwink the people at the assembly elections her government has refrained from placing a crushing burden of taxes on them, but only till the elections are over. By all indications, the burden awaits the people for the June budget after the elections. Before she was returned to power, Indira Gandhi used to shed tears over the atrocities committed on the Harijans and other sections of the 'lower-caste' people during the Janata rule. She used the atrocities on the poor people in Narayanpur in UP and Parasbigha in Bihar as one of her pretexts to dismiss the non-Congress (I) governments in those states. But the same atrocities continue unabated under her own reins now. She has not re-clamped emergency formally, but is introducing the measures of emergency one by one. She has reintroduced the PD Act, armed her government with unfettered powers through ordinances and taken economic measures which clearly aim at giving additional advantage to the monopoly houses to fleece the people. Her

government is quietly withdrawing, using various tricks, all the court cases against her crimes, or crimes of her son and her henchmen. It reveals her plan to cast even the judiciary into a shape as will suit her design. In the top echelons of the administration too she is bringing back her trusted men who have been charged with committing serious crimes. It is a new feature in the bourgeois administrative system of the country where the ruling party forms a coterie in the administration destroying even the minimum of administrative neutrality.

A reflection over the chain of recent political developments will convince that Indira Gandhi, as the faithful and trusted defender of capitalism, has been brought back to power, mainly through an administrative rigging, to stabilize the bourgeois class rule at its present hour of crisis. There is little doubt that the Congress (I) is the bourgeois choice and today the danger of fascism comes from this end. The people must realize it and must give the Congress (I) a crushing defeat at the assembly elections.

The other branded bourgeois parties like the Congress (U) and the split fractions of the former Janata Party—Janata (JP), Janata (S), BJP, etc.—are in complete disarray. They tried to strike an electoral alliance among themselves, but the greed for larger share of seats proved too much to fetch success. Whatever their slogans now, these parties exposed themselves through their anti-people, anti-democratic policies and measures when they were in the government. The mass killings of Bailadilla in MP, of Kanpur and Panthnagar in UP, of Bokaro in Bihar are among the records of the former Janata Government. The communal riots of Aligarh and Jamshedpur, the caste atrocities of Belchi and Parasbigha in Bihar were committed when these parties and groups were

in government. In a single year (1977-78) during their rule the atrocities on the Harijans and other socially backward strata of the people reached the horrible figures of 4974 in UP, 3366 in MP, 681 in Bihar, 570 in Maharashtra, 331 in Gujarat and 233 in Rajasthan. Similar crimes have been no fewer in Tamil Nadu. These parties did not lag in arming their governments with repressive and arbitrary powers. A mini-MISA was introduced by the Janata Government. The Lok Dal-Congress (U) caretaker government at the centre had brought the PD Act back through the backdoor of ordinance.

The fact remains that all these parties are basically of the same character as the Congress (I). They are engaged only in a mockfight among themselves at the parliamentary battle to prove their mettle to the ruling bourgeoisie. These parties must all be defeated at the coming polls.

Parties like the CPI(M) and CPI, who claim to be Marxist, are clamouring for the West Bengal-Kerala-Tripura type government led by them before the people as the model alternative to the Congress (I) government. The kind of model it is can be best proved by pointing to the attitude of the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' government in West Bengal to democratic mass movements. This government is not only discouraging mass movements but suppressing them with brutal force at the first sight of their development. It resorted to police savagery on the mass violation of law organized by our party on the 15th June last in Calcutta in protest against the price rise, power crisis and anti-people education policy of the government. It killed striking port and dock workers in Calcutta, smothered the refugee settlement in Marichjhanpi and let loose repression on the electricity workers of Santaldih. The CPI(M) is going all the way today to appease the monopoly

houses, increase the police budget to strengthen the arm of coercion of the capitalist state and detract the workers from the path of movement by advising them that strike is the last weapon to be used. The CPI(M) leadership is calling Indira Gandhi authoritarian, but in the same breath it assures her that it will avoid confrontation with the centre. It is now an open secret that with all its fierce anti-Indira talks, the CPI(M) is conducting dialogues with her. The fact is, the CPI(M) wants Indira Gandhi to follow the rule of bourgeois parliamentary politics—the two should divide the area of power to share the spoils.

To increase their bargaining power in the parliamentary arena, the CPI(M)-CPI have made every effort to forge alliance with the bourgeois parties like the Congress (U), Janata (JP), Janata (S) etc. and even communal, parochial and regionalist parties like the Akali, Muslim League, AIADMK etc. The attempt has failed on the national plane on that stumbling issue of 'seats', but the CPI(M) now openly declares that it will strike alliance with any and every party, except the one which upholds the people's genuine cause—the SUCI. Thus, judged by their attitude to mass struggle and the pro-capitalist policies of their governments, the CPI(M)-CPI are found more or less to sail in the same boat with the Congress (I), Congress (U), Janata, BJP, etc. It is gradually getting exposed to the people how these pseudo-Marxist parties now appear in the role of defender of the crisis-ridden capitalism. A defeating blow must be dealt to these parties, too, at the coming elections.

The danger of fascism looms large over the country today. Our party has been repeatedly alerting the people that the menace will have to be fought in time with the force of mass movement. It was the

(Contd. to page 5)

Mr. Jyoti Basu—for whom he speaks ?

Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of 'Left Front' government of West Bengal in course of a speech at a meeting of the CITU affiliated union of electricity workers, on 29th April, set a guideline for the trade union movement in the three states where his party and its allies have come to governmental power. He said that trade unions in these three states—West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala—should develop a movement for increase in production. Unlike in other states, the movement should not merely concentrate on raising the demands of the workers

The meaning was clear and the capitalist gentry responded heartily. This was obvious from the cheers of the Kanorias, Guptas and Goenkas of different chambers of commerce. They saw in it a 'bold' initiative of a person who is not only the Chief Minister and a Polit Bureau member of a 'Marxist' Party but a top leader of CITU. For, this sort of exhortation to the workers for increase in production means as if they hold the key to increase in production was formerly uttered by the Congress leaders who were placed at the governments by the capitalists as their spokesmen. Today, they have ground to be cheerful for having a new brand of spokesmen who talked loud about worker's interest while they were in opposition.

Now, apparently, there may be nothing to be objected in this concern for increase in production for who else than an insane would not like that production should increase. But the underlying meaning of this guideline to trade union movement where the 'left' have come to power carries a deeper connotation which we will see later.

Again, to restore work ethics or morality in working class movement is surely an important thing. Without morality, without obligation to the society, rights become privileges. Instead of uplifting the workers and the society this privilege-seeking corrupts the workers and the social environment. That is why from Marx to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, every teacher and guide to revolutionary working class has emphasised on acquiring a new proletarian

ethics and morality from which they want to bring an end to wage slavery and are not content with occasional crumbs thrown at them by the bourgeoisie. But perversion of worker's morality by the pursuit of 'economism' in the name of trade union movement has been going on in this country for long and the so-called 'militancy' of unions has been judged on this yardstick. In this respect, the contribution of the 'left' trade unions including the one led by Mr. Basu's party far out-steps the unions of the rightist parties. Indeed, under the catchy slogan of converting economic struggle into political struggle it is the CPI(M) that made 'economism' their only politics. If Mr. Jyoti Basu tried to undo the mischief that has wrought tremendous harm to working class movement, he would have been on the right track. But no, he was saying what Congress leaders like Indira Gandhi have been saying for long. It is to say that workers are responsible for fall in production which is untruth.

Truth is that at this stage of acute crisis of moribund capitalism, productive capacity of industries remains idle and for this it is the working people who suffer. The industrialists are faced with serious crisis of market because of ever-squeezing purchasing power of the people. The crisis-ridden bourgeoisie is trying to shift the entire burden of crisis of the productive system on to the shoulder of the working people. They are producing and selling lesser and lesser volume of

their products but are maximising their profits by increasing the margin of profits. They are suppressing the legitimate demands and movements of the workers with the help of governments of their own choice. The constraint to production is therefore caused not by the workers but because of the internal law of the system. Not to utter this truth but to point at the workers the accusing finger is to serve the bourgeoisie, pure and simple. But on one count, Mr. Jyoti Basu is to be praised for his plain speaking. In his speech, he has given sufficient hint that in the states where his party has not yet come to governmental power, trade union movement sponsored by them would only focus on workers' demands i.e. economism but in the states under their rule their role will be different. It will be to co-operate with the management for increase in production meaning of 'industrial truce' for the benefit of the capitalists.

No doubt for such service at this hour of crisis, the capitalists may reward the CPI(M) and its allies in the coming election to assemblies in the nine states. CPI(M) at least is trying its best to make itself presentable to the bourgeoisie as an alternative to the bourgeois parties by its better performance in defending bourgeois 'law and order', and ensuring 'peace' and 'discipline' in industries.

This reminds one of the tactics of the fascist parties in Germany and Italy where by show of militancy, trade union wings of these parties forced the bourgeoisie of those countries to come to an agreement with them. After assumption of power by these parties these fascist unions ensured perfect 'peace' and 'discipline' in industries so much so that not a single strike did take place in fascist Germany. Perhaps this is the model that suits crisis-ridden capitalist 'class' and 'Marxist' Jyoti Basu is assuring it of all help.

But it must be admitted in all fairness to Mr. Basu and his party that thanks to their service, a kind of 'industrial truce' is going on in the state of West Bengal which was once the nightmare of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru because of militant mass struggles. Mr. Basu, since his coming to office of Chief Minister has been untiring in his efforts to ensure 'peace' in industrial field in order to create a 'congenial climate for investment of capital.' To what extent there has

been investment of fresh capital despite dumb submission to capitalist oppression by the workers concerns him least. Anyhow he and his party have to play their role, the rest remains at the hands of history.

History however tells a different thing. It tells about the discomfiture of the social democratic leaders who are called upon to undertake an absolutely hopeless task of defending

(Contd. to page 5)

In 'service' of the people !

"The four MLAs of the SUCI including Debaprosad Sarkar put the members of the treasury bench as well as others of the Opposition (in West Bengal Assembly) in an embarrassing position. It happened during a debate on the amendment to the Bill on the allowances of the MLAs. The Bill, raised by the Minister for parliamentary affairs, Bhabani Mukherjee, proposed that the members be allowed to take one attendant free, apart from the facility of travelling free on rail upto 8000 kilometers a year by an MLA.

"Not to speak of the members belonging to the treasury bench, MLAs of all other parties let the Bill be carried over silently. It was Debaprosad Sarkar who stood in the way. The Bill could not be passed silently—suddenly he struck a discordant note. **Sri Sarkar was the only speaker against the Bill, not only the only speaker of the opposition, but the only speaker besides the minister.** Strongly he protested against the attempt to provide further facilities to the MLAs wasting money from public exchequer. All other members were silent, some fixing their eyes on the floor of the House, a little embarrassed. Sri Sarkar went on saying: the country where seventy percent of the people are helplessly living below poverty line, when for want of fund the government is unable to enhance facilities to the peasants,

workers, office employees, the policy of extending further facilities of pleasure travels to the MLAs is thoroughly anti-people. This provision of allowing one attendant is nothing but wastage of government fund. The MLAs have come here to offer voluntary service. So, to provide them with more facilities than the minimum is highly unjust and unethical.

"In reply to Sri Sarkar, Bhabani Mukherjee said that the MLAs do not travel on pleasure trips—they travel to discharge official duties. The members of different Standing Committees have to go to different states to gain experience. So they need this facility.

"The opposition of Sri Sarkar and his party did not end with a mere speech. In all the three readings of the Bill they demanded division and made the votes to be recorded. **It was observed that only the four votes of the four SUCI MLAs went against.** The Congress (I) MLAs even though present in the Assembly did not vote for any side, they simply avoided the issue. They did not even officially record their abstention. Because, in the Assembly those who officially abstain record their abstention by switching on the yellow light. But the Congress(I) members did not do that—they switched neither the green, nor the red nor the yellow light.

[Yugantar Patrika, 2nd April '80—emphasis added]

'Progress' indeed but for whom?

Killing of poor landless Peasants or Harijans

In 1977-78, the all-India figure of savage attacks against the Harijans reached 10,879.

Both the Congress (I) and Congress(U) and Janata Party including the Lokdal, Janata(S) etc. all share the credit of this progress!

For example, during the Emergency rule i.e. between 1974 and '76, atrocities on the Harijans increased by 41.9%.

According to the figures given by the Commissioner of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, the state-wise break-up figures are as under:

Year	State	Number of incidents
1977-78	Uttar Pradesh	4974
"	Madhya Pradesh	3366
"	Bihar	681
"	Rajasthan	233

The 'progress' remained unaltered in 1978-79 and '79-80. No less than 10 savage incidents have been reported since December last year resulting in death of 42 Harijans in UP and Bihar alone. 14 Harijans were shot dead at Janharpur in UP on December 11. A month later a group of policemen indulged in a mass orgy of rape and plunder, killing 2 Harijans at Narainpur in UP. In Bihar 12 Harijans were shot dead at night in Parasbigha. Twenty one days later 14 Harijans were butchered by a 500-strong gang of armed men at Pipra and on March 16, Harijan houses were set on fire at Katni. All these incidents took place when Janata was in state government and Congress(I) was at the Centre. Tamil Nadu can also have its share of credit for the Villapuram massacre which took the toll of 12 lives and damage of house and properties of 112 Harijan families.

The real reason for this undeclared war of the big landowners, no matter to which caste they belong, against the landless and poor peasants is to grab government vested lands allotted to the poor and to deny minimum wages to land labourers, stipulated by the government. In a rough estimate in UP alone

one lakh acres of land, distributed to the poor has been reoccupied by the jotedars. This is the 'progress' of land reforms, much trumpeted by all the bourgeois parties and their social democratic allies!

Land reforms—other aspects

Despite talks of land reforms, the law of capitalism has given birth to the trend of concentration of landholdings and its inevitable opposite, growing number of landless peasants.

As a result, the different survey data indicate that in 1971-72: While the bottom 30%

of the rural population owned only 2% the top 30% had in their possession nearly 82% of all rural assets. The gap, since then has widened at an accelerated pace. The proof of this truth can be found in the fact that between 1961-71, 19 million peasants lost their land and joined the number of landless raising its percentage from 18 to 29 p.c. of the total unorganised work force. Secondly, the percentage of population living below poverty line has risen from 52 p.c. in 1960-61 to 70 p.c. in 1978-79 (taking monthly per capita expenditure capacity of Rs. 40). This means 7 out of 10 persons in the country are below poverty line. Different official and non-official survey data bring home the fact that the so-called land reforms performed upto now has touched less than one half of 1p.c of total land under cultivation. A 'progress' surely after three decades of planning, welfare scheme etc. whose cost has been met mostly by this 70%!

Unemployed on the march

According to Planning Commission data, the number of registered unemployed as per the live register of the employ-

ment exchanges has surpassed the 10 million mark out of which 4.4 millions have been defined as 'chronically' unemployed. Out of annual addition of 5 million to the labour force in the country only 11 p.c. or 550,000 have a chance to secure jobs leaving the remaining 45,00,000 to join the ever-swelling army of unemployed. The number of annual addition to this army will be on an increasing scale with each year passing.

'Progress' in Prices of Commodities

Government's official figure gives the fluctuation in the wholesale prices which has no relevance to the retail price of commodities with which the people are concerned. The retail price now means the blackmarket price which from place to place and commodity to commodity varies from 50 to 250 p.c. more than the official price. Still then let us see what the government figures say.

As on 15.3.80, the official wholesale price level (base 1970-71) was 230.1 which is 21.7% higher over the last year and 20.8% over March 31, 1979. The respective figures of increase for food articles and manufactured articles were 18.1% and 18.9% and 25.6 and 23.8%. The cost of living calculated on these figures showed increase of 11.6 to 12.7% for the industrial workers and 16.4 to 19.4% for the agricultural workers for the same periods. It goes without saying that the figures hide more than reveal. Add 20 to 25 pc. and you come closer to reality.

A 'Progress' which is real

According to the Bureau of Public Enterprise both the public and private corporate sectors, particularly the 'big' at the top reaped a good harvest of profit. The top 10 governmental units bagged a gross profit of Rs. 282 crores which is more or less on par with the gross profit of Rs. 279 crores earned by

the top business houses led by Birlas and Tatas.

The capital-profit ratio of the private sector is however much better. Whereas the total capital employed by private sector was Rs. 4,194 crores, the same was Rs. 7,456 crores for the public sector units. The public sector units employed total capital investment of Rs. 14,173 crores and bagged gross profits of Rs. 1,076 crores or about 7.6 P.C. The private sector units (251 companies) employed total capital of Rs. 9,945 crores and made gross profits of Rs. 1,197 crores—a profit margin of 12 P.C. The enormous profits as also the capital accumulation

in both private and public sector have been made at the cost of people's sufferings. During 1979-80, the total capital employed in public sector is expected to have risen by Rs. 2,250 crores of which nearly Rs. 1,350 crores has come through taxes on the people and loans from both internal market and external sources, the entire burden of repayment of which will fall on the people.

This is the price for 'progress' of Indian capital, that the exploited people of the country pay and will have to pay till they can bring an end to this savage rule of capital.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's letter

(Contd. from page 1)

We hope, you will agree with us that the Assam issue has, since long, assumed an all-India character and all the left parties should immediately come forward to organise mass movement on the all-India plane against the Central Government headed by the Congress (I) to compel it to take effective steps to—

- Stop deportation of the non-Assamese;
- Ensure security and safety of the minorities without any discrimination;
- Solve the legitimate demands and aspirations of the people of Assam and

d) Contain all the parochial and secessionist forces.

In fine, it should be noted that unless we can build up this movement on the all-national plane to achieve these objectives—the dangerous possibility of spreading this secessionist movement in other States cannot be ruled out.

The left parties should, therefore, immediately meet to chalk out a programme of united movement in the line suggested above. This meeting may be convened at Delhi by any left party and, if you all agree, we are ready to convene the same.

Awaiting immediate reply. Comradely yours,
S/d- Nihar Mukherjee
General Secretary, SUCI

Dastardly attack of CPI(M) led anti-socials in Birbhum

(Contd. from page 6)

in various ways to the normal functioning of the school. In the interest of the school therefore, he was put under suspension. But this gentleman who has for long been a known Congress leader of the locality got the help and backing of the local CPI(M) Committee which organised this planned attack against the Secretary and President of the School Committee as also many others including teachers whom they thought to be their enemies. Apart from the fact how a man guilty of the crime of defalcation

of school funds could get the help and backing of the Anchal Pradhan? What strikes us most is the fact that the miscreants did not keep secret of their murderous intention two days before this dastardly incident took place for hours together, but it seemed there was nothing like a civil society, its law-keeping machinery and the administration. We demand an immediate and open inquiry into the whole incident to mete out deterrent punishment to the miscreants.

Sincerely yours
Sd/ Sukomal Das Gupta
Sd/ Pratiba Mukherjee

Convention Against Authoritarianism

Calcutta, May 2:

On 27th April last, a Convention of citizens was held at the Calcutta University Institute Hall against authoritarianism and demanding protection of democratic rights, preservation of federal character of the Constitution etc. among others.

Comrade Debaprosad Sarkar MLA, the leader of our party in the West Bengal State Assembly, addressed the gathering in the morning session and Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta the Secretary of our West Bengal State Committee was one of the main speakers in the afternoon.

While analysing the features of authoritarianism Comrade Sarkar observed that the root of authoritarianism lay within the present day crisis ridden socio-political-economic structure of capitalism. So, whoever would stand to protect the existing crisis-ridden moribund capitalism was bound to be dictatorial, authoritarian and would tread the path of fascism. So like Mrs. Gandhi and her party the Janata party during its rule too took recourse to mounting repression on all sections of the toiling people and their movement.

The incidents of Kanpur Bailadilla and Panthnagar among others would bear ample testimony to this fact, Comrade Sarkar added.

The ruling capitalist class was trying to pass the burden of crisis on to the shoulders of the workers, peasants and toiling millions.

To protect the crisis ridden capitalist system the ruling capitalist class on the one hand were taking recourse to fascistic oppressive measures and on the other were trying to arrest the people's discontent within the ambit of bourgeois legalism.

Comrade Sarkar reminded the audience that in order to prepare the masses politically, organisationally against the forces of authoritarianism, it was incumbent on us to take a consistent and principled stand against the parties defending moribund capitalism. Instead, if the politics of exigency is pursued, it causes confusion

and disarms the people politically, the opportunity of which is exploited by the very forces of authoritarianism.

In fine, Comrade Sarkar, appealed to the people to remember that mighty wave of democratic mass movements based on higher proletarian ethics and morals was the only guarantee against authoritarianism—fascism. For this a united front of struggle, composed of left and democratic forces, against capitalism is the need of the hour.

In his penetrating speech, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta said at the outset that he would concentrate mainly on the socio-political background of the phenomenon of authoritarianism as also the correct political line that can give defeat to it. This, in his opinion should be the central focal point of discussion in this convention. For, people must grasp the features of authoritarianism concretely in order to take a correct stand and give a crushing defeat to it.

Tracing briefly the political development of the country in the recent past, Comrade Dasgupta drew attention to the danger inherent in the reappearance of Indira Gandhi and the political force she represents.

Comrade Dasgupta then analysed the socio-economic-political base of fascism. He showed that once in the days of competitive capitalism, relative freedom and liberties of the people were held in high esteem and parliament as the superstructure of that social base emerged as a representative form of government. But with the crisis appearing and accentuating in the capitalist productive systems particularly after the second world war when the world capitalist market lost its relative stability, the bourgeoisie have been trampling the

democratic norms, ethics and values which they once cherished. In the economic field there has been merger of banking capital with industrial capital giving rise to monopoly finance capital and financial oligarchy. Not only this. To stave off the ever deepening crisis there has been merger of private monopoly capital with state monopoly capital to give birth to state monopoly capitalism which is the rock bottom foundation of fascism.

In the political and administrative set up, like in the economic field, there has been steady trend of concentration of power. In this connection, it was to be noted, Comrade Dasgupta cautioned, that fascism was not merely naked dictatorship but it took recourse to both suppressive and persuasive tactics. Those who think therefore that it is only brutal suppression are therefore beguiled by fascism's so-called radical cloak and slogans or persuasive tricks.

Comrade Dasgupta called upon the people to realise the truth that it was crisis ridden capitalism that was the breeding ground for fascism or authoritarianism. To fight authoritarianism means therefore to fight its main source—moribund capitalism. Whoever therefore wants to stand up against authoritarianism will have to naturally stand up against capitalism. The movement against authoritarianism must have therefore anti-capitalist direction.

Pinpointing the urgency and necessity of building up strong democratic movements, uniting all the left and democratic forces who are ready to fight authoritarianism, Comrade Dasgupta said that the core of this movement against authoritarianism must be formed of those who were consistent and uncompromising in their fight against capitalism. Only if this condition is fulfilled then alone the success of the movement

Jyoti Basu—for whom he speaks?

(Contd. from Page 3)

moribund capitalist system which is rotting at its roots. The call of harmony of interest between the exploiters and the exploited at a period when the exploited cry for a change will surely not work. That is why Stalin was thousand times correct when he said that : crisis of capitalism also brings in its wake the crisis of social democracy.

The working people of our country are undergoing an important political lesson. They are learning by concrete experiences that CPI(M) led government is doing or intends to do what was tried by Indira Gandhi Government through a different method,

SUCI's Appeal

(Contd. from page 2)

task of all claiming to be leftist and Marxist to come forward and join hands today to fight the growing danger. All of them have thrown away the banner of mass movement, except the SUCI. Bypassing the urgent task of building up the left and democratic unity and by running after the bourgeois parties with an eye to petty parliamentary gains, these pseudo-lefts are objectively helping the authoritarian forces consolidate their position and the bourgeoisie carry on with its design. Our party has appealed to them time and again to join hands to build a genuine left and democratic front to lead the democratic mass movement. But they have not heeded. That is why the SUCI is alone today in building the democratic mass movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Single-handed it is upholding the people's cause. All other parties, including those claiming to be left and Marxist, stand united in one respect—in opposing the line of mass movement.

The bourgeois and pseudo-left parties therefore, can by no means gets a guarantee. Besides, Comrade Dasgupta and Comrade Sarkar, Sri Jyoti Basu, Mr. Tarkunde and many others also spoke.

emergency rule. A political force which is therefore a more wily defender of crisis-ridden capitalism can be the alternative to the bourgeoisie but can never be the alternative of the exploited people who want an end of this very exploitative system.

Here is the vital break between their aspirations and goal and those of these social-democratic parties. And they will find only SUCI is upholding their banner—the banner of struggle and emancipation. Let them indicate to these social democratic parties and leaders their real place by strengthening the revolutionary current SUCI represents.

come into the people's choice. Round whom should the people rally? Whose victory should they ensure with all strength at the elections? The choice is one and unique—the SUCI. It is the party reared by the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and built on the higher edifice of proletarian culture and ethics. Only the SUCI representatives uphold the people's cause, the people's interest and the banner of mass struggle on the floor of legislature and expose the anti-people design and politics of the ruling class and the ruling parties. That is why the ruling bourgeoisie is trying all means to block the entry of the SUCI representatives into the assembly or parliamentary forum. The class will make every attempt to rig the coming elections against our party. The people should rise up and speedily build their own organisation, the people's committees, to keep vigilance over and resist the bourgeois attempt to manipulate the election results. Every vote cast in favour of the SUCI is a vote for the mass struggle. Every support to the SUCI candidates is a hand against the bourgeois design and its defender parties. The question is not

(Contd. to page 6)

On proposed Bangla Bandh on 17th May

West Bengal State Committee's Resolution

Calcutta, 14th May, 1980.

Comrade Sukomal Das-Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI has released the following resolution which was adopted in the meeting of the West Bengal State Committee held on 13th May, '80:

"We feel serious concern along with other left and democratic minded people of our country at the dangerous situation posed by the threat of unilateral deportation of the non-Assamese as 'foreign nationals' by the parochial leaders of Assam. This will cause not only incalculable miseries to thousands and thousands of innocent people but will also provoke fratricidal war among different sections of the exploited masses to the detriment of the left and democratic movement of the country.

"It is to be seriously noted, in this connection, that the parochial leaders of Assam could not misguide the common people by exploiting their genuine grievances had the Central Government led by Sm. Gandhi come forward in time to take necessary steps to solve the genuine demands of the Assamese people as also to protect the safety and security of the minority communities giving up the politics of bungling which this Government has been pursuing in its bid to

SUCI's Appeal

(Contd. from Page 5)

how many seats the SUCI is contesting at the election is who is following the correct political line—people's support must go to that party. The SUCI calls upon the people in these nine states to unite behind the SUCI and ensure victory of the SUCI candidates at the coming elections to uphold the people's cause and frustrate the bourgeois design.

satisfy the narrow interest of her party and the class.

"The heinous role played by the ruling class and their branded parties to foment the situation and add fuel to the fire from time to time should not also be overlooked.

"There is no denying the fact that these forces have taken advantage of the absence of a powerful united left movement in Assam which could not be built up despite our repeated attempts due to the lukewarm attitude of the so-called big left parties there.

"We strongly feel that in order not to allow the situation to deteriorate further a country-wide united mass movement is to be launched immediately by all the left and democratic parties in order to compel the Central Congress (I) Government to take effective steps to:

- a) Stop deportation of the non-Assamese,
- b) Ensure security and safety of the minorities.
- c) Fulfil the legitimate demands of the people of Assam and
- d) Contain all the parochial and secessionist forces in the country.

"Responding to this urgent need of the hour the Central Committee of our party has already called upon all the left and democratic parties to immediately chalk out a programme of united struggle on this very burning problem.

"So when a country-wide mass movement against the Central Indira Government by the left parties in the line suggested above was the need of the hour, we painfully note that the CPI(M) and its allies have proposed to give a call of 'Bangla Bandh' on 17th May next.

"We are afraid that this call of 'Bangla Bandh' will help foment parochialism in this state also, further jeopardise the interest of the minorities

Dastardly attack of CPI(M) led anti-socials in Birbhum

[Comrades Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee and Prativa Mukherjee, Secretary, Birbhum District Committee of our party SUCI met Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu on 14.5.80 and after submitting the following memorandum demanded immediate action—Ed. Board, P. Era]

Dear Jyoti Babu,

This is to bring to your urgent attention a serious incident which deserves prompt and adequate steps on behalf of your government. We are giving below a brief narration of the ghastly incident.

On 10th May morning, about hundred fifty persons including forty to forty-five known anti-socials of Chinpai and other neighbouring villages under Dubrajpur Police Station, Birbhum, led by the Anchal Pradhan of Chinpai, a local CPI(M) leader, entered into the compound of Chinpai Higher Secondary School while classes were in session, and brutally attacked Com. Rebati Mohan Ghosh, the Secretary of the School as also a leading organiser and member of our District Committee. As a result of

in Assam, frustrate the growth of united mass movement on all-India plane only to the glee of the ruling bourgeoisie and last but not the least shield the Central Indira Government which is mainly responsible for allowing the situation to deteriorate so dangerously and help it gain some sort of popular image. This is not accidental that the Central Government led by Sm. Gandhi is finding a ground to bless this call of 'Bangla Bandh'. We appeal to all the left parties to ponder over these questions and respond positively to our call of building a united mass movement against the Central Indira Government, freeing the people from the pernicious influence of parochialism, casteism, communalism etc. in order to guarantee security and safety of the minorities of Assam and achieve the legitimate demands of the Assamese people".

severe physical assault, Com. Ghosh became unconscious; the miscreants thought that Com. Ghosh had died and tried to remove his body to the neighbouring village, Narainpur. At this point, they were opposed by the general teachers and many students of the school. Many of them sustained severe injuries at the hands of the miscreants who were armed with lethal weapons. The miscreants, not being able to take away the body of Comrade Ghosh, went on rampage entering into the houses of Sarvasree Rasbehari Banerjee, Narayan Ghosh (President of the School Committee) Samar Santi Chatterjee, Balaram Ghosh, Siddheswar Dey, Bibaran Chatterjee, Biswambhar Chatterjee, Debendra Nath Das, Sukumar Chatterjee, Santi Chatterjee, Bidyut Chakraborty and many others. Even the women, the old and children were not spared and many valuable articles were looted. The miscreants entered into the house of Sri Rashbehari Banerjee, former Pradhan of the Anchal, by breaking open the doors of his house and threatened to kill a new born baby of the house if Com. Ajoy Banerjee, a local leader of our party, was not handed over to them. Rashbehari Babu, an old man of seventy five became a victim of violent physical assaults by the miscreants. Deben Babu, a poor bargadar, aged sixty five, too, suffered assaults and indignities. Injury to his both hands is severe.

A preparation for this pre-planned attack was going on for some time past. Two days back, anti-socials of the neighbouring villages were assembled, armed with spear, tangi and other lethal weapons, by the local CPI(M) leadership and they moved round the

local areas in the evening in a procession shouting slogans like: "We want the heads of Rebati Ghosh and Ajoy Banerjee", etc. Obviously, they were after creating a reign of terror by this intimidating posture. But despite this grave provocation and unruly behaviours of the organised band of miscreants, the police and administration, most astonishingly, did not move. They kept a studied silence. What was it if not a direct connivance? Wonder of wonders, even on the day of the depredation, after the police were informed, it made its presence in the village, but in presence of them, brutal attacks on persons and ransacking of house after house took place. And after all these savagaries by the miscreants were complete, the police moved—but not to arrest the miscreants but to arrest those who were victim of brutal attacks by the miscreants. Police have either arrested the victims or issued warrants of arrest against them. Not only that, warrant of arrest was issued against Com. Rebati Mohan Ghosh who was himself brutally assaulted by the miscreants. We wonder whether we are living in a civilized society or not.

Com. Rebati Ghosh, whose condition is very serious, is now in Suri Sadar Hospital. Two of his ribs have been broken. Other leading Comrades of the locality, Ajoy Banerjee, Sambhu Chakraborty, Samar Das, a teacher, Samar Santi Chatterjee also sustained severe injuries.

It will be worth mentioning the underlying reason for this organised criminal activities of the Anchal Pradhan and his followers. The Headmaster of the School was accused of misappropriation of school funds to the tune of about Rs. 14,000. Being caught, the Headmaster was causing obstruction

(Contd. to page 4)

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE